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A LETTER TO THE PROPRIETORS OF THE EAST INDIA STOCK.

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ERRATA:

Page 14. line ult. *for* Colonel, *read* Council.

15. line 4. *for* the Company's forces, *read* the King's and Company's forces.

15. line 11. *for* Colonel, *read* Council.]

29. line 23. *for* Plassis, *read* Plassey.

A

LETTER

TO THE

PROPRIETORS

OF THE

EAST INDIA STOCK,

FROM

LORD CLIVE.

LONDON:

Printed for J. NOURSE, opposite Catherine-street, in the Strand, Bookseller in Ordinary to His MAJESTY.

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AN

ADDRESS

TO THE

PROPRIETORS

OF THE

EAST INDIA STOCK.

THE laſt Election of the India Directors drew many unjuſt attacks on my character; and it is probable, I may be cenſured by ſome, for having ſuffered ſuch reports as were ſpread againſt me during the conteſt to have remained ſo long unanſwered; but knowing, that even the authors of them could not themſelves believe them; and conſcious to myſelf, that every part of my conduct, in the great ſhare I had in the management of the Company's affairs, would bear the moſt rigid ſcrutiny, and the more known be the more approved; I held

them in too much contempt to merit any answer. But as I find the unjuſt attack on my character has been followed by an attack on my fortune, and inſinuations thrown out to juſtify theſe proceedings, very injurious to my honour, I reluctantly ſubmit to vindicate myſelf, and muſt rely upon the candour of the Proprietors, not to impute it to oſtentatious vanity, if in ſpeaking of myſelf I do aver, that I founded all my actions in their ſervice on honourable motives.

To ſtate this clearly, I am obliged to go back to that period when commerce was the Company's ſole object. The firſt principle on which the Company's ſettlements were eſtabliſhed, was intirely commercial. The Mogul government had, during the long and wiſe adminiſtration of Aurengzebe, taken ſuch deep root, that the many nations which formed the empire of Indoſtan were ſubjugated to the Mogul in various forms; ſome of them tributary and hereditary, and others governed by Nabobs, or Viceroys, under the immediate appointment of the Emperors.

Such

Such was the ſtate of the empire when the Engliſh ſettled in India; and, in the reign of Furruckſeer, they obtained phirmonds, or royal grants, for eſtabliſhing themſelves in Bengal, Madraſs, and Surat, with privilege of trading duty-free; and a grant of a certain diſtrict of land to ſettle upon, and liberty to fortify and govern themſelves by their own laws. But as the Engliſh ſaw no violence to be apprehended from a people who had a juſt idea of commerce, and a government at that time well adminiſtred, they built with very little view of defence, and carried on their trade free from oppreſſion.

The governors of the diſtant provinces diſcovering the weakneſs to which the power of the Emperor was reduced by the invaſion of Nadir Shah, were no longer reſtrained by fear; each aſſumed and exerciſed ſovereign authority over his province, and looked on his government as an heritage to his family. Scarce any more of the annual ſums, before paid by them to the Mogul, were ſent to court; and, to maintain themſelves in their ſovereignty, they levied forces far beyond what the ordinary revenues

would maintain : From hence oppressions became necessary, and, in their turn, the Europeans were oppressed, not only in their trade, but large sums extorted from them by violence. Monsf. Dupleix, the Governor of Pondicherry, was the first who took the alarm, and was the first who discovered the superiority of European discipline, and from hence was led into the idea of acquiring a territorial sovereignty in India.

It is probable, he at first extended his views no farther than a district round Pondicherry; but when once engaged in the politics of the country, his successes so far surpassed his expectation, and opened such a scene of power to him, that he disdained the narrow limits he might at first prescribe to himself; and no doubt but they were enlarged, not only to the conquest of the Carnatic, but to the extirpation of all other European nations, and even to the reduction of the whole Mogul empire, and to make it a dependant state on the crown of France.

The English beheld his progress with astonishment, but were not rouzed to action, till

they

they found themselves on the point of being swallowed up by the French power. Forced to it, they with reluctance, in 1750, undertook the support of Mahomed Ally against Chunda Saheb, under whose name the French carried on their ambitious projects.

It is not my intention to enter into a minute detail of that long war, maintained on our side against a constant superiority of numbers, at the expence of the lives of many thousands of brave men, and at the risque of near a million sterling of the Company's property; I shall only observe, that from our successes, the Nabob's situation was so different at the end of the year 1753, from what it was in 1750, at which time the single city of Trichinopoly was the only part of his dominions that remained unconquered by the French, that in 1753 he had recovered, and was master of, almost the whole Carnatic; and at that time the French resources seemed nearly exhausted.

The French Company, elated at the success which attended Monf. Dupleix in the commencement of the war, at first faintly approved

his measures; but the opposition of the other European powers, the unforeseen events of war, and the deviating so widely from their natural object of commerce, rendering the event very uncertain, there was nothing could fix their faith in the rectitude of those measures, but successes that might attend them, and a happy period to the war, which Monsf. Dupleix promised them in every letter. But, instead of these successes, they saw the countries, of which they expected the revenues would be their reward, in the hands of their enemies, and their stock exhausting in the support of an uncertain war, which ruined their trade, and the manufactories of the country, from which they had before reaped advantages suitable to their establishment.

The war appeared in the same light to the English Company, and therefore both agreed on a neutrality for the Carnatic, till means should be found to put an end to that and all future wars by negociations at home. But as it regarded the Carnatic only, it did not check the progress of the French arms in the Decan, the Soubah of which had ceded to them Massulipatan,

lipatan, and four provinces, which yielded them a revenue of 400,000 *l.* ſterling a year. Nor did there appear any check to their progreſs in that country: the French gave law, by their influence over the Soubah, to a country as extenſive and populous as France; and by a prudent management of what they had ſo acquired, or by increaſe of dominion, it was in their power even then to have laid a foundation on which M. Dupleix's great ideas of conqueſt might have been realized. And altho' the French Company themſelves ſhould have choſen to adhere to their commercial intereſts, Dupleix's projects ſuited too well with that ſpirit of conqueſt which prevails in the French court, to be neglected; and upon the breaking out of the war it is reaſonable to conclude, from the forces ſent out under General Lally, that they adopted them in their utmoſt extent. Our ſettlements were but a ſecondary object; their forces were ſo formidable, that they, with great probability, imagined them a trifling obſtacle, (which ſurmounted) Cape Comorin and the Ganges might have been the boundaries of their dominions. The ſpirited efforts of Mr. Pocock

 could

could not prevent their landing their army: St. Davids fell; no obstacle but Fort St. George remained to the accomplishment of their farther conquests. Here they met with a resistance suitable to the importance of the object; and I am persuaded, that Messrs. Pigott, Laurence, Draper, and many other gentlemen of the garrison would have been buried under its ruins, sooner than have surrendered the place.

The siege was raised, their army reduced, and misfortunes pressed them on every side.

Prior to the siege of Madrass, they had lost all their settlements in Bengal; four hundred Europeans, sent under Col. Ford into the Decan, by the great success of that gallant officer, put a period to their expectations in that country. The reduction of Masulipatan, the four northern provinces, and the making all the French army there prisoners, greatly contributed to our success at Fort St. George, as it diverted great part of the French forces, who otherwise would have been called to the siege of Madrass, and deprived them of supplies of money and provisions. And finally, as Col. Ford's

Ford's expedition obliged the French to send from the coast 500 men for the relief of Masulipatan, of whom very few returned to Pondicherry, the French were reduced to act upon the defensive only, and were greatly distressed for money and provisions, which Fort St. George was plentifully supplied with from Bengal. Under these circumstances the fall of Pondicherry closed the scene of all their glory, and left them not a foot of land in India.

Thus have I traced, from its commencement, the progress and issue of a war, begun on principles of French ambition, but happily terminated by the greatest efforts of valour and good conduct on the part of the English. I flatter myself, that every Proprietor must receive infinite pleasure in the reflection, that they will soon reap the benefit of these great and glorious successes, now secured to them by the XIth article of the definitive treaty. Although there are some geographical errors, such as making the Soubah of Bengal's dominions extend near 200 miles more than they do, to Yanam, and making that place the northern instead of the southern part of the coast

of

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of Orixa: the acknowledging Salabad Jing lawful Soubah of the Decan, and Mahomed Ally Cawn lawful Nabob of the Carnatic, had better have been omitted for several reasons, and may be productive of disputes hereafter between the two Companies: yet, upon the whole, the article is very advantageous to the East India Company.

As my opposition originally arose from the defects in the Preliminary Articles, (in which the interest of the East India Company appeared to me to be much exposed), it affords me a very particular pleasure to think that I have been any ways instrumental to the amendment of that article relative to the Company. Of the part I acted in it, Mr. Wood himself bore testimony in the general court; and tho' it had but little weight at that time, yet I persuade myself, that when the voice of clamour ceases, that, like every other part of my conduct towards the company, will be found to have sprung from the warmest zeal for their honour and interest.

As to myself, I can with truth affirm, that the principal motive that induced me to offer

myself

myself a candidate for the India Direction, was the interest of the East India Company; and my reasons for espousing the cause of Mr. Rous, arose from a conviction of his integrity. Contrary to my expectation, my opponents, the very men who had so often concurred in giving me the most public testimonies of their sense of my services, were such that opposed my coming into the Direction. Better versed in such business than myself, they prevailed in this dispute; and every species of calumny was made use of that malice could invent; and the first step my opponents took, after the election, was to order their servants abroad to stop the rents of my estate in the East Indies, which they themselves had regularly paid me for several years, without objection. Their motives for taking such a step at such a time are too obvious to be insisted upon.

Anonymous letters in the public papers were the channel my enemies chose for those dishonourable reflections, which not one amongst them would have dared to have set their names to.

I have

I have collected, from the heap of absurdities published on that occasion in the Gazetteer of the 12th of April, 1763, the following articles.

1st. That I had refused to answer certain inquiries respecting the distribution of the Nabob's treasure.

2dly. That I had done injustice to the relations of the unhappy sufferers in the Black Hole, by with-holding from them the sums stipulated by treaty for their indemnification.

3dly. That having deposed the Nabob, I entered the treasury, and distributed the wealth according to the pleasure of those intrusted with the Company's authority, leaving the Nabob destitute, and necessitated to borrow money of the Company for his necessary expences; by all which the Company may hereafter become responsible to the Mogul.

4thly. That no servant of the Company shall remit money home but by their cash, which order I broke through, by remitting large sums by the Dutch cash.

5thly. That I was guilty of a breach of trust, by supplying a Portuguese ship, bound from

from Bengal to Liſbon, with goods and money, to the great detriment of the Company.

6thly. That I have no right to an annual revenue of 27,000*l.* a year, given me by the Nabob, which muſt be ſupported and maintained at the Company's expence.

The firſt of theſe articles does not explain what the inquiries were I had refuſed to anſwer; I therefore do not clearly underſtand what the tendency of ſuch inquiries were. If they had any relation to the monies received from the Nabob by the Company, the treaties entered into with the Nabob by the Admirals Watſon and Pocock, the Preſident of Fort William and myſelf, in conſequence of which the Company received near a million and an half ſterling, will account for that proportion to which the Company can lay any claim. This however does not ſeem to be the matter alluded to, but ſomething reſpecting myſelf, or the fortune I acquired in the Company's ſervice. It is well known, that I was not in England at the time the general court was held relating to the diſtribution of the Nabob's

treasure, and could not possibly give any answer to inquiries on that subject; but if there was any foundation for such inquiries, the Directors were wanting in their duty to the Company, in not making them after my return: and it will appear, that the Directors, under their own hands, approved of the donations bestowed by the Nabob on individuals for their services. But however, as the neglect of the Directors, if that was the case, in not calling me to account, can by no means sanctify my actions, it is necessary that I give the best satisfaction I am able relative to this matter.

I was appointed, by the gentlemen of Fort St. George, commander in chief of the troops sent for the recovery of the Company's settlements in Bengal, on board the fleet commanded by Admiral Watson. On our arrival in the Ganges, we found the unhappy remains of a once flourishing colony on board a few merchants ships in that river. We landed, drove the enemy from Fort William, and put the Company's Governor and Colonel in possession.

The Nabob then came down with an army of ſixty or ſeventy thouſand men, and a heavy train of artillery, fluſhed by his late ſucceſſes againſt the Engliſh. The Company's forces, conſiſting of a battalion of 450 men, a battalion of Seapoys, and a body of ſailors from the ſquadron, attacked the Nabob in his camp, and defeated him. We then made a treaty with him, by which he engaged to reſtore all the effects he had taken. In conſequence of which, the Governor and Colonel recovered in goods and money to a large amount. *

War being declared againſt France, we took Chandernagore; and having convincing proofs, that the Nabob's firm intention was to extirpate the Engliſh, as ſoon as the troops and ſquadron left the river, we entered into an alliance with Meer Jaffier Ally Cawn, a general officer in the Nabob's ſervice, and near relation to the Nabob; and accordingly a treaty † was concluded between us, the chief

* A copy of this treaty may be ſeen in the Appendix, No. 1.

† A copy of which may be ſeen in the Appendix, No. 2.

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chief object of which was, on the part of our ally, a full satisfaction to the Company and all the inhabitants, for the losses they had sustained by the capture of Fort William, and other factories which the Nabob had plundered, with grants of lands and privileges; and, on the Company's part, to place and support him in the government of the three provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixa.

Every thing being agreed on between Meer Jaffier and the secret committee, we marched the army to meet the Nabob, whom we intirely defeated. His death followed soon after, and Meer Jaffier was, in a few days, in possession of the government, and of a revenue of three millions and an half sterling per annum.

The one half of the secret committee being then present at the capital, and a report made by the Nabob's ministers of the state of the treasury, it was settled, that half the sum stipulated by treaty should be paid in three months, and the other half in three years, all conditionally, that we supported him in the government.

The Nabob then, agreeable to the known and usual custom of eastern princes, made presents, both to those of his own court, and to such of the English, who by their rank and abilities had been instrumental in the happy success of so hazardous an enterprize, suitable to the rank and dignity of a great Prince. I was one amongst the many who benefited by his favour: I never sought to conceal it, but declared publicly, in my letters to the secret committee of the India Directors, that the Nabob's generosity had made my fortune easy, and that the Company's welfare was now my only motive for staying in India. What injustice was this to the Company? They could expect no more than what was stipulated in the treaty. Or what injunction was I under to refuse a present from him who had the power to make me one, as the reward of honourable services? I know of none. I had surely myself a particular claim, by having devoted myself to the Company's military service, and neglected all commercial advantages. What reason then can be given, or what pretence could the company have to expect, that I,

after having risqued my life so often in their service, should deny myself the only honourable opportunity that ever offered of acquiring a fortune, without prejudice to them, who, it is evident, would not have had more for my having had less. When the Company had acquired a million and an half sterling, and a revenue of near 100,000 *l.* per annum, from the success of their forces under my command; when ample restoration had been made to those whose fortunes suffered by the calamity of Calcutta; and when individuals had, in consequence of that success, acquired large estates; what would the world have said, had I come home, and rested upon the generosity of the present Court of Directors?

It is well known to every gentleman in Bengal, that the honour of my country, and the interest of the Company were the principles that governed all my actions; and that had I only taken the advantageous opportunities that presented themselves, by my being commander in chief, and at the head of a victorious army, and what by the custom of that country I was intitled to, the Jaghire itself, great as it

is,

is, would have been an object scarce worth my consideration.

The city of Maxadavad is as extensive, populous, and rich as the city of London; with this difference, that there are individuals in the first possessing infinitely greater property than any in the last city. These, as well as every other man of property, made me the greatest offers, (which nevertheless are usual upon such occasions, and what they expected would have been required) and had I accepted these offers, I might have been in possession of millions, which the present Court of Directors could not have dispossessed me of. But preferring the reputation of the English nation, the interest of the Nabob, and the advantage of the Company, to all pecuniary considerations, I refused all offers that were made me, not only then, but to the last hour of my continuance in the Company's service in Bengal, and do challenge friend or enemy to bring one single instance of my being influenced by interested motives to the Company's disadvantage, or to do any act that could reflect dishonour to my country or the Company, in any

one action of my administration, either as Governor or commanding officer.

I little expected ever to have had my conduct impeached, or to have received such treatment from the Court of Directors, especially after the many public and honourable testimonies of approbation I had received in the orders and letters mentioned in the Appendix, No. 3.

I am not ostentatious, but upon this occasion am forced to deviate from myself, and with great reluctance expose these public testimonies of my conduct, in contrast to the dishonourable motives which have induced my enemies to impeach it.

As to the 2d article, accusing me with injustice towards the relations of the unhappy sufferers in the Black Hole, whoever will be at the pains to inquire, will learn that 625,000 *l.* was the sum assigned to make good the losses sustained by the Europeans; that the money was sent down to the Governor and Council at Calcutta, and by them deposited in the Company's treasury, who gave orders to their treasurer to issue it out as demanded to the secretary

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appointed by the 24 commissioners, chosen by the inhabitants themselves to adjust their respective claims; and that none of it ever passed thro' my hands. They will further learn, that the sum assigned did not only suffice to pay the principal of such losses, but for a dividend of 22 per cent, for interest, besides a sum sufficient for another such dividend, which has been detained for the Company's use by orders to their servants abroad. It is very possible, that the heirs of some of the unfortunate sufferers in the Black Hole may not have been able to obtain their right, for want of attornies to apply to the commissioners for that right. If there be any such demands, I should imagine they may still have justice done them out of the remaining treaty-money, now in possession of the Company. But to shew in what a light the sufferers themselves regarded my conduct, I take the liberty to insert a paragraph, extracted from a letter signed by almost all the inhabitants of Calcutta, which will shew the Proprietors their sentiments of my conduct on that subject.

"Honoured Sir,

"The inhabitants of this settlement, truly "sensible of the benefits they have received "from your generous assistance, in obtaining "them restitution for the heavy losses they "sustained in the miserable catastrophe of June "1756, and for your great care and assiduity "in the collecting of that part of the Nabob's "donation; Do, with the utmost gratitude, "return their hearty and sincere thanks for "those great favours conferred on them, the "remembrance whereof will be for ever in- "delible."

As to the third article, which seems to intimate some right in the Great Mogul to the treasures of the late Nabob Sarajah Dowla, and that the Company may hereafter be responsible to him on account of these treasures; it may be said, that there is such a Prince, but he is almost without territory or power; the little he possesses not being equal in extent or riches to one twentieth part of his dominions, and therefore unable to inforce in those provinces any authority that might have formerly belong-

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ed to him; and he is now so far reduced, as to be a captive to, and in the hands of, one of the Soubahs.

However, as I would give the Proprietors all the satisfaction I can, as to this article, I will lay all the particulars before them, and for that purpose I must inform them, that as soon as it was known, that Sarajah Dowla was fled from the city, a new ministry was immediately appointed, and the former officers became responsible to them.

The gentlemen appointed by the Governor and Council to receive the money due by the treaty, were agents for this purpose. As to myself, I was never there but once out of curiosity; and I do declare, that I never interfered, directly or indirectly, any further than what immediately related to the payment of the money stipulated by the treaty.

The treasure was most certainly the property of the Nabob Meer Jaffier, as it would have been of any other Nabob, who might have succeeded to Sarajah Dowla; but for the application of the money, I will suppose, for once, that it did belong to the Great Mogul:

surely then it was out of that very Imperial treasure the Company received 1,250,000 *l.* The sufferers at Calcutta 1,000,000 *l.* and the navy and army 600,000 *l.* and that if Meer Jaffier had no right to give any part of the Imperial treasure to individuals for their services, he had no power to bestow those several large sums to the Company, sufferers, navy, and army; and if he was answerable for the one, he must for the other. If therefore, it was wrong in me to accept the favours of the Nabob out of that treasury, certainly it must be so too in the Company, sufferers, navy, and army.

As to what is insinuated, that the donations given by the Nabob to individuals, had drained his treasury in such a manner, that the Company were obliged to lend him large sums of money, this is not only a very unfair, but a false representation of facts. The time the Company lent this money to the Nabob was, when his dominions were in peace, and the sum was only two lack of rupees, about 25,000 *l.* the Nabob's minister himself informed me, he had then to the amount of near a million sterling in

 jewels,

jewels, a large sum of money in his treasury, and to a very great amount in plate. It could not be owing to distress that he borrowed this money: his pretences of poverty might have been made use of with a political view, as is the constant practice in that country; or he might have desired to borrow money of the Company for fear they should desire to borrow of him. But the real fact was this; if I may be supposed to know it, who then presided over the Company's affairs in Bengal.

By the IXth article of the treaty with the Nabob, the Company's possessions would have been of little consequence to them, unless we were allowed to put not only our own construction on the words of the article, but also to have an additional quantity of land to the northward, to the amount of near 12,000 *l.* per ann. In order to accomplish this, we not only were obliged to comply with the Nabob's request, made at that particular time, but also to make presents to several of the principal officers about him, to engage his consent to this grant, which he was not bound to make by treaty; and I believe the Directors know very

well,

well: if not, I am sure the Governor and Council are well apprized of what consequence it was to the Company, to obtain the grant of those lands to the northward of Calcutta. I will venture to affirm, had the Nabob desired a loan of money at any other time but this, his request would not have been complied with.

The unfortunate Meer Jaffier was a stranger to distress until I had left the country. It was when the King's son, and a large body of Morattoes, invaded and ravaged his kingdom for a twelvemonth together, and had stopped the receipt of great part of his revenues. It was then that the Nabob began for the first time to experience the misfortunes of distress. Yet still his distress was not so great, but that his successor was able, immediately, to bestow on the Company eight lack of rupees, or 100,000 l. sterling, to carry on the war on the coast of Coromandel.

As to the fourth article, That no servant of the Company shall remit money home but by their cash; which order I broke through, by remitting large sums by the Dutch cash. That

I did,

I did, jointly with my friends, remit a large sum of money to England, by bills on the Dutch Company, is most true, for this reason only, that the English Company's treasury was so full, that their servants abroad thought it inconsistent with the Company's interest to grant bills, when it was more than possible, the French might drive us out of all India, and the Company not only lose what they had just acquired, but become responsible for the immense sums, which under the terror that then prevailed of the French force, would be immediately poured into their treasury: and though I should have thought it a great advantage to have remitted my fortune home at that dangerous crisis, by bills on the Company, when the motion was made in council to receive all monies tendered for bills payable in three years. I was myself one of those who opposed it; and the only money received into the treasury was Mr. Watson's estate, to shew a sense of the services received from him: Sums due to the merchants of London, for coral and bullion: small sums from the principal servants, for remittances to their families, and the purchase

of

of neceſſaries, were received, and bills granted for them.

I flatter myſelf it will give me ſome merit with the Company, that I oppoſed the fatal deſigns of the Dutch in the armament they had ſent to Bengal, with ſo much perſeverance; more eſpecially as I had at that time the greateſt part of my property in their power, the bills given me not being wholly due till three years after ſight; and I could not but be very ſenſible at that time of the riſque I ran, by ſuch an oppoſition to that dangerous undertaking; and I will venture to affirm, that had not my truſtees agreed to accept the payment of the money upon the Dutch Company's own terms, which were a very conſiderable deduction for prompt payment, the greateſt part of my fortune would have been at this day in their hands.

As to the fifth article, That I was guilty of a breach of truſt, by ſupplying a Portugueſe ſhip, bound from Bengal to Liſbon, with goods and money, to the great detriment of the Company; there is not one word of truth in the whole of this aſſertion. Thoſe who did, may

may plead the same defence that I do for my remittance by the Dutch: the inference drawn is absurd; the Company had more money than goods to purchase.

I now come to the last article, viz. That I have no right to an annual revenue of 27,000*l.* a year, given me by the Nabob, which must be supported and maintained at the Company's expence.

In this article, party resentment seems to have confounded all ideas of right and wrong; and my opposition to the present leading gentlemen has cast such a mist before their eyes, that they cannot discern that right which they had before acknowledged by every act that could express it. But as I intend to make the Proprietors the judges of that right, I shall explain the cause, for which the Jaghire, or Lordship, which produces to me an annual income of about 30,000*l.* a year, was given me, and the nature of the grant by which I hold it.

Soon after the battle of Plassey, the Nabob, of his own free motion, without the least hint or application from me, sent a petition to the court

court of Dehli; that I might be created an Omrah, or Lord of the Empire. In the beginning of the year 1758, the Nabob received and delivered me the patent (with other honours accompanying it); by which I was created an Omrah of the command of 5000 foot, and the rank of 6000 horse.

According to the custom of the country, the Soubah assigns a Jaghire, or estate, within his own provinces, to support the dignity of the new created Omrah; but at the time I received the patent of creation, I knew of no such intention in the Nabob, whose friendship for me gave way to other views.

I have before hinted, that the Soubah's first plan was to evade the execution of the remaining part of the treaty, and to appear, in the eyes of his subjects, as maintaining himself by his own strength, and not by our support.

He took the field, as early as the season would permit, with an army of 80,000 horse and foot; and it was with reluctance that he sent to me to join him with our troops, and more from the apprehension of leaving us so

near his capital during his absence, than from any expectation of our assistance in the furthering of his designs.

We marched the army up, now reduced by the malignancy of the climate to 300 English, with two battalions of Seapoys, and a train of artillery.

At our first meeting I reproached him with the duplicity of his conduct, and insisted on his immediately paying down all arrears, and that he should give secure assignments for the payment of the rest of the treaty-money. I freely gave him my opinion of his keeping up such a vast army, which drained his treasury to no manner of purpose; that the example of his predecessor might be a lesson to him how little such troops were to be depended upon; and that when danger pressed, he would find the English his only true and firm support. In his exaltation to his new grandeur, and seeing himself at the head of such a numerous army, my advice made little impression; so I concluded with telling him, he might amuse himself with his own ideas, but, in the mean time, that I was neither to be trifled with nor intimidated;

midated; and, after ſome ſtruggle, I obtained immediate payment of the arrears, amounting to ſeveral hundred thouſand pounds, and an aſſignment of certain diſtricts, the revenues of which were to be collected by the Company, as a ſecurity for the reſt; and from this inſtant the Nabob may have been ſaid to comply literally with his treaty.

Theſe were the Nabob's ſentiments at that time, and ſuch they continued until the following year, when the province of Bahar being invaded by the Mogul's ſon, (drove by the Vizier from his father's court) the Nabob attempted to take the field, and now experienced what I always inculcated to be true. Vaſt arrears were due to his numerous army, who, taking advantage of the times, ſurrounded him, and inſiſted not only on the whole of the arrears due from his predeceſſor as well as himſelf, but on an advance of pay. Theſe demands amounting to many millions, it was impoſſible he could comply with them.

In this exigency he applied to us, entertaining great doubts of our friendſhip, from the conſciouſneſs of the inſincere part he had acted,

and

and from a juſt ſenſe of his own imprudence, in having neglected the advice I had given him the preceding year, to diſband the greateſt part of his large and uſeleſs army. Bound by treaty and intereſt, it behoved us to ſecure the attachment and dependancy of the Nabob. We immediately took the field, and relieved him, for the preſent, from the inconveniencies he laboured under from his own forces, who, over-awed by our preſence, deſiſted from their demands. Being joined by 8000 horſe and foot, under the command of his ſon the young Nabob, we marched four hundred miles in twenty-three days, and forced the enemy to raiſe the ſiege of Patna, the capital of the province of Bahar, and purſued them two hundred miles further, until they paſſed the boundaries of the Soubah's dominions, and then obliged the tributary Rajahs to pay their arrears. In the mean time, the Nabob's army had again ſurrounded him, and were become more outrageous than ever; and he was upon the point of being put to death, when the news of our ſucceſs diſperſed them, and they became as

ſubmiſſive and fawning, as they were before daring and inſolent.

Services rendered at ſuch a criſis, convinced him at laſt of the value of ſuch ſincere allies. On my return from the north he came to meet me, and after many obliging expreſſions, that I had ſaved his life, and made him a ſecond time Soubah, he reproached himſelf with ingratitude in never having appointed me a Jaghire. On taking his leave he told me, Jaggerſeat (a man of great note in that country) was intruſted with his orders on that ſubject. Jaggerſeat ſoon after put a paper roll into my hands, in the preſence of Mr. Francis Sykes, Mr. Luke Scrafton, (both now in England) and Major Carnac, which proved to be a patent for the Lordſhip of the lands rented by the Company, in conſequence of the article of our treaty with him. The patent was ſoon followed by the order in the Appendix, No. 3. being an order to the Governor and Council of Calcutta, to pay me the rents of the ſaid lands, inſtead of paying them as before into his treaſury, he having made me Jaghiredar, or Lord of the country.

Such

Such were the motives that induced the Nabob to give me this token of his ſenſe of my ſervices, and ſuch the manner in which it was conferred, by me unaſked and unexpected; I ſay unaſked and unexpected, becauſe, from the time of my receiving my honours from Dehli, in December 1757, to this time, nothing had ever paſſed on the ſubject, but one letter from me to Jaggerſeat, in January 1759, informing him, that the Nabob had made me an Omrah without a Jaghire, which I underſtood did uſually accompany it, and to deſire he would apply to him on that occaſion; to which letter he return anſwer, that he had applied to his Excellency, who ordered him to acquaint me, that he never granted Jaghires in Bengal; that Orixa was too poor, but that I might have one in Bahar. Looking on the Nabob's anſwer as an evaſive one, and that he was not inclined to comply with my requeſt, I never wrote or thought any more on this ſubject, until I received a ſecond letter from Jaggerſeat in anſwer to my firſt, after our ſucceſs againſt the King's ſon, that the Nabob had turned the thing in his mind, and was willing to grant me

a Jaghire in Bengal; but the nature of it, where, or of what value it was to be, I was intirely ignorant, till the patent explained it, and I confess it gave me the greater pleasure to find it to be the Lordship of the Company's lands, because the Company was thereby freed from all dependance on the government.

It now remains to say something of the validity and nature of the grant. It is to be observed, that the lands ceded to the Company by the IXth article of the treaty, were only ceded to them as perpetual Jemindars, or renters; the Nabob reserving the lordship and quit-rents, which amounted to near 30,000*l.* yearly; and the Company could never be lawfully dispossessed, so long as they continued to pay that quit-rent. It was, then, the lordship and rents so reserved that he made over to me; no prejudice resulting to the Company, who had farmed out the same to a very considerable yearly amount, with a prospect of great increase of rents, and only this difference, that they were to pay the quit-rent to me, instead of the government; to this nation a profit of 30,000*l.* a year.

With

With regard to the validity of this grant, I ſhall only ſay, that the patent paſſed all the uſual forms of the country, and was founded on the very ſame authority that the Company had for all their acquiſitions, the power of a Soubah. This I think is a ſufficient anſwer to the charge in the 6th and laſt article.

I ſhall now proceed to lay before the Proprietors the meaſures taken by my adverſaries, ſubſequent to the election, and the reaſons they aſſign to ſupport them.

But I ſhall firſt take notice, that by the ſervices rendered to the Nabob, the Company not only recovered the misfortunes ſuſtained from the late Nabob, with the poſſeſſions I have already mentioned, but alſo acquired, and had delivered into their hands, the abſolute power over the three provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixa, whoſe ordinary annual revenues produce three millions and a half ſterling; inſomuch that they were enabled to ſet up and eſtabliſh in the Soubahſhip any perſon they thought fit. This matter may be clearly ſeen by the letters in the Appendix, No. 3.

This power the Company, soon after I left Bengal, exercised, and in 1761 they entered into a treaty with Mahomed Cossin Cawn, son-in-law to Meer Jaffier, for that purpose, (a copy of which treaty is in the Appendix, No. 41) By this treaty the Company acquired a much larger district of country, than they before enjoyed under the treaty with Meer Jaffier, together with a larger estate and interest in those lands, than they had in those before granted; for the annual amount of the lands last acquired were near 600,000*l.* and instead of reserving to the government the usual rents of homage which those lands were subject to, both the lands and those rents were granted to the Company.

This treaty being signed by Mahomed Cossin Cawn and the Presidents of the Company at Calcutta, on behalf of the Company, the Nabob Meer Jaffier was surrounded in his palace by the servants of the Company, and obliged to relinquish his government, and was carried down to their settlement at Calcutta, where he did till lately reside, and Mahomed Cossin

Coffin Cawn was placed in the executive part of the government in his stead.

I shall not at present enter into the consideration of the grounds and motives for so early and extraordinary a change in the government of the provinces, being inclined to think those matters will be laid before you by persons better acquainted with that transaction than I am. For the present I introduced it only to shew the great advantages the revolution, brought about by the removal of Surajah Dowla, had produced to the Company; and that those advantages might, with prudent management, be increased: but at the same time I must observe, that the revolution against Surajah Doula was a matter of necessity, as upon that event only depended the existence of the India Company; and I hope nothing but the preservation of the Company's property in those parts induced those concerned in the last revolution (if it may be so called) to bring it about.

I have before acknowledged, that my fortune arose from the grateful bounty of the Nabob for my services to him; and altho' I shall ever think of my services to the Company with

pleasure, yet the Company cannot say I owe them any thing in point of gratitude. My allowance, as President, was (until increased by the additional allowance of 1000*l.* a year) less than [illegible] my predecessors received by 1200*l.* a year. Indeed, had the Court of Directors rewarded my services in the same manner they have done those of my successor, by allowing me two and an half per cent. on all their revenues and monies acquired for them, it might have been otherwise. My adversaries cannot therefore say I acquired my fortune out of the property of the Company, or in diminution of that of my country, or any of my fellow-subjects: on the contrary, it is well known, that had it not been for the successes we were blessed with, this kingdom would never have had the benefit of one farthing of the money which has been brought into it, in consequence of those successes. This being the case, one might have expected, after so many years service to the Company, and under the circumstances I have described, they would at least have permitted me to have had the quiet enjoyment of that fortune I had so obtained.

And

And here I must acquaint the Proprietors, that the rents of my Jaghire were regularly paid during the time I was in Bengal, and, since my return, have been received by my attornies in Bengal, and remitted by them to me, as the ships sailed from thence, in bills on the Company here, which were always regularly paid without objection, until May last, when, on the ships going out for Bengal, which were the first that went out after the election on that voyage, I was given to understand, that orders had been sent to stop the payment of my Jaghire. I applied to the Court of Directors for a copy of those orders, but that was refused; however, I afterwards came to the knowledge of them. They are to the following purport: "With respect to the "Jaghire given by the late Nabob, Jaffier "Ally Khan, to Lord Clive, arising out of "the lands granted by the said Nabob to the "Company, we direct, that you do not pay "any further sums to the attornies of Lord "Clive on the account; and we further di-"rect, that whatever shall arise in future from "the said Jaghire, be carried to our credit.

"You

"You are to cause exact accounts to be made "out and transmitted to us, not only of what "shall so come into our cash, but also of all "the sums Lord Clive's attornies have already "received on the said account, together with "the dates of the several payments. His "Lordship's pretensions to the said Jaghire "will be settled here."

And Mr. Sulivan, by a letter wrote at the same time by him to the President at Calcutta, informed him, "That all cordiality being at an "end with Lord Clive, the Court of Directors "had stopped payment of his Jaghire; a "measure which would have taken place years "ago, had it not been for him (Mr. Sulivan); "and that on this head the said President was "to obey every order, which he might receive "from the Court of Directors; and that more "was not, nor must be, expected of him."

I shall not trouble the Proprietors with any observations on this order and letter, they will sufficienly speak for themselves; but shall only remark, that I must think it extremely hard to be deprived of my property because I cannot agree with the present Court of Directors.

But

But the Company having paid my jaghire so long without any objection, and even now not claiming any right thereto, themselves, nor pretending to say that any one else does; under such circumstances one might be at a loss to conceive what foundation in reason there could be for the Directors sending such orders to Bengal. But, on inquiry into the matter, the reasons assigned appear to be four.

1st. That the Mogul is sovereign of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixa, and proprietor of all the lands within those provinces; and that the rents granted to me are the antient imperial rents reserved and payable to the Emperor; and that therefore the Nabob could not grant or alienate the same from the imperial Crown; and that the Company may be called to an account by the Emperor for what they have paid to me: Nor is that all the Company seem to expect, but that I am accountable to them for what I have received.

2dly, That suppose the Nabob had a right to alienate those rents, such alienation could exist

exist no longer than the Nabob who granted the same continued in his government, and that such alienation was not binding on his successor; and as Meer Jaffier had been deposed, the grant became of no effect.

3dly. That my acceptance of the dignity of an Omrah, or title of honour, (which honour they doubt my having had, altho' they have a copy of the Patent in their custody) was contrary to my duty to the Company, as I might be obliged, by such acceptance, to assist the Mogul and the Nabob in war, even against the Company.

And lastly, for fear these reasons should fail them, then comes a fourth; which is, that suppose I have a right, that even then I have no remedy in England, but must resort to the court of the Mayor of Calcutta, or to the courts of the Emperor at Delhi, or the court of the Nabob.

As to the first, it may be proper to observe, that, upon the original foundation of the Mogul Empire, all the lands, like those in England, were in the crown, who granted the rents, in the nature of fee-farm

farm rents in England: These lands were, and now are, called Calfa Lands, or lands belonging to the crown; the rents whereof were, for feveral years, received by officers appointed within the provinces by the Emperor for that purpofe; and the Nabobs, who were then Viceroys to the Mogul, had penfions affigned them to maintain their courts, and fupport their governments: But, for a great number of years paft, that method has been changed, and inftead of penfions, the Emperors allotted to the Nabobs large quantities of land within the provinces, to be difpofed of and managed for their own benefit; and thefe lands were, and now are, called Jaghire Lands, and for which no taxes are paid: And as to the reft of the lands within the provinces, the Nabobs farmed the fame of the Mogul at a certain yearly fum.

This alteration being received into the Mogul government, it became immaterial to the Mogul what the Nabobs did with the rents; the yearly fum ftipulated was all he expected, and that they were obliged to pay; fo that all the rents, and alfo the lands that produced them,

them, were under the power of the Nabobs, who might and did dispose of them as they thought fit, and out of them conferred favours on whom they pleased. The Nabobs granted zemindaries or leases of all the lands from time to time at their pleasure, or as occasion required; and in this state the constitution and usage of the Mogul Empire stood at the death of Aurengzebe.

After the death of Aurengzebe, the Nabobs began to assume sovereign authority, and the invasion of the Persians, before taken notice of, rendered that sovereignty absolute; and the Nabobs do now, and have for many years, exercised all those sovereign rights, regarding the lands and revenues of the provinces, which the Mogul Emperors ever had.

It is under the authority of the Nabob, the Company now hold their zemindary in the lands subject to my jaghire; it is under the same authority, they now hold by treaty with the Nabob Cossin Cawn large districts of country, producing near 600,000l. a year to them, without paying any rent at all, notwithstanding those lands are calsa or imperial lands,

and

and would, in case the original constitution of the Mogul Empire existed, be subject to the payment of the antient reserved rents to the Great Mogul, to a very large amount; it is well known that there are numbers of jaghires in the province of Bengal, granted by former Nabobs, that have subsisted for several generations.

Yet as to my jaghire, they now at once alledge it was an illegal act in Meer Jaffier, and at the same time admit that the Company are in the enjoyment of all the lands granted to them by the Nabob Cossin Cawn, without paying or being subject to any rent at all; and that the grant from Cossin Cawn to them, both of the lands and ancient rents, is valid and effectual: this seems a contradiction not easily to be reconciled. But, for a moment, let us suppose that the fears the Company entertained at that instant, of being accountable to the Great Mogul, might have obscured the light which the comparison of things alone would have discovered, and that the Mogul should hereafter recover the antient dominion of his empire; it must then be observed, that the annual tribute sti-

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pulated to be paid by the Nabob on his confirmation, is in fact the same annual sum formerly reserved and paid by the Nabobs for the farm of the rents and lands within the provinces. Can it then be supposed that the Mogul would require both the revenues of the lands, and also the annual sum stipulated to be paid by the Nabob, in lieu of those revenues? It might, with some degree of probability, have been said, that he might, according to the constitution of the empire, call the Nabobs, who might then be considered as his Viceroys, to an account for all the annual tribute remaining due from them: But to say the Company would be answerable to the Mogul for the rents paid by them to me, is an inconsistency equal to the former, and not to be reconciled to reason or the nature of things: And even to furnish themselves with this pretence, bad as it is, they must have had a very extraordinary foresight; and I should be glad to have been informed of the period such a reckoning was likely to take place.

I have before taken notice of the present circumstances of the Mogul, and by what means

a Prince, under his circumſtances, or even ſuppoſing him in as good a ſituation as his predeceſſors for ſeveral years paſt have been, could recover the dominions of large and powerful provinces, which had long ſhaken off his authority, I am really at a loſs to gueſs. But, to remove any doubt the proprietors may entertain concerning the power and dominion of the Great Mogul in Bengal, or the ſovereign authority of the Nabob, I will repeat the account given by your Directors of thoſe Meaſures under their hands to his Majeſty, in the year 1762, in a memorial preſented by them relative to the tranſactions with the Dutch, which account is in the following words:

"By the antient conſtitution of the Mogul "Empire, of which the provinces of Bengal, "Bahar, and Orixa, are a part, the Nabob "or Soubah of thoſe provinces was nothing "more than the Mogul's Viceroy, yet, for "many years paſt, as the ſtrength of that "conſtitution has been gradually declining, "the Soubahs of theſe and other provinces "have been in like gradation aſſuming an "independance of the Court of Delhi, and

" the shock which the empire received, or ra-
" ther the subversion of it, (for it has never
" recovered, nor probably ever will) since the
" irruption of the Persians under Nadir Shah,
" has so far confirmed that independency,
" that the relation between the Nabob and
" the Mogul is at present little more than
" nominal. The Nabob makes war or peace
" without the privity of the Mogul; though
" there appear still some remains of the old
" Constitution in the succession to the Na-
" bobship, yet in fact that succession is never
" regulated by the Mogul's appointment; tho'
" the person in possession is generally desi-
" rous of fortifying a disputed title by the
" Mogul's confirmation, which the Court of
" Delhi, conscious of its inability to inter-
" pose more substantially, and desirous of re-
" taining an appearance of superiority, rea-
" dily grants. The Nabob of Bengal is
" therefore *de facto*, whatever he may be *de*
" *jure*, a sovereign Prince, or at worst, not a
" vice-roy, but a tributary to the Mogul:
" there being some kind of tribute still con-
" sidered as due, from these provinces to the
Mogul,

" Mogul, though it rarely, if ever, finds its " way to Delhi. It appears by the Director's " letters, that the Dutch, as well as we, con- " sider him in this light."

I must observe, that the Dutch, in order to give some colour for their complaints against the Company, made use of the following allegation, *viz.* " The Mogul is sovereign of the " country, and we derive from him, under " repeated phirmaunds, a right to a free navi- " gation from thence to other places; and this " right we cannot be deprived of, without in- " fringing the phirmaunds of the Great Mo- " gul, which the Nabob, who is only gover- " nor of a province, is not authorized to do."

And it was in answer to this allegation the declaration above-mentioned was made by your Directors, who now find themselves under the fatal necessity, on behalf of the Company, of making use of the same reasons for justifying their conduct towards me, as the Dutch made use of to justify theirs towards the Company.

As to the 2d reason assigned by your Directors, it might, perhaps, have been well for the proprietors, had it never been in their

power to have employed it. But as it is assigned as such, I will answer it as I would have done, at the time it was offered by them, without any regard to what has happened since that may have deprived them of the use they at first proposed from it.

There are numbers of instances of Jaghires now subsisting, that have been granted by former Nabobs: there are many, even on the Company's own lands, of which the Directors might have been informed by the proper officer appointed for surveying those lands, who is now in England; and they might also have been informed, that there were many Jaghires granted by the Nabobs Surajah Dowla and Meer Jaffier also existing. But enquiry here, seemed not necessary; the Directors at once boldly affirm, my Jaghire to be determined, by the removal of Meer Jaffier from the throne, since the grant did not, as they alledge, bind his successor; without the least consideration of the natural inference such an assertion might produce.

I have before taken notice, that his Majesty's arms, and those of the Company, by

 the

the revolution brought about whilst I was the Commander in Chief, acquired the great power and influence the Company enjoyed in Bengal, when I left that country; and that that power after I came away, was made use of to depose the Prince who sat on the throne whilst I was there; and, to establish Mahomed Cossim Cawn in his stead. It is under these circumstances, that the Directors make use of the 2d reason. Now to give that reason its utmost latitude, it can amount to no more than an admission from the Company, that I had once a good right to require from them the payment of my Jaghire: but that this right is now defeated by a subsequent act, entirely effected by their own agents abroad. The weight and justice of this argument I leave to your considerations.

Before I quit this head, I must beg leave to take notice of the forms agreed on between the Company, and Mahomed Cossim Cawn, which may be seen in the Appendix, and by which it will appear, that Meer Jaffier was to remain Nabob to all purposes, except the executive part of the government, which was to

be the province of the new Nabob. This being the basis of that revolution, if it may be so called, it will appear, that the Nabob, Meer Jaffier still remained Nabob of Bengal; and it is well known, that he did till lately, reside at the Company's factory, at Calcutta, in princely state; and even supposing my Jaghire to be good no longer than the reign of the person who granted it, it would be still subsisting. However, your Directors do now in effect declare, that they will retain my Jaghire for the benefit of the Great Mogul (who would certainly be glad to receive it, as Cossin Ally would readily give any directions touching that matter the Directors think proper to suggest to him) and that, in prejudice to me and their country; though they at the same time are influenced to retain the rents of the lands granted to them, not only by Cossin Cawn, but also by the Nabob Meir Jaffier, in prejudice to the Great Mogul.

As to the 3d reason; here I must beg leave to observe, that the titles of honour used in Europe, are unknown to the Indians; their titles of honour are distinguished only by a

number of Azaras, or one thousand, from two to ten thousand horse, which is the highest, and was the title of the son of the Great Mogul: the number of six thousand expresses the dignity of an Omra, but not any less number; and the equipage of the person on whom such honours are bestowed, are proportioned by the usage of the country to his rank. Hence it will appear, that of necessity, no person can be ennobled in India, unless the rank and number he is appointed to, be expressed in the patent; and this is a mere compliment, which does not lay any obligation on the part of the person receiving such honour, to render to the Mogul any services whatsoever; and to affirm the contrary, it must be presumed that the Nabob, in the present case, applied to the Mogul to take me into his service: who, in such service, might (if the emperor meant to recover the ancient dominion of his empire, or the payment of his annual tribute) be employed against the Nabob himself, if military services were to be rendered to the Mogul; which would be an absurdity to suppose.

 But

But the true intent of the honour, was no more than a personal favour to me, and to give me rank amongst the Princes and great men of that country; and may have been of service to you in my negotiations and transactions with them. Monsieur Dupleix, the commander in chief of the French forces in India, obtained a title of honour, inferior to mine, and had several Jaghires granted him by the Nabob of the Decan in Lands, ceded to the French Company, which he enjoyed for several years after he returned to Europe, and indeed until the lands, upon which the Jaghires were granted, were taken from the French. And Monsieur Dupleix considered his title of honour, as an advantage to the French in those parts.

As to the 4th reason, it is well known, was I obliged to pursue my remedy in the Mayor's Court, that the judges of that court are dependants upon the Company: the appeal lies to their president and council, nay the person employed on my behalf, must be dependant on the Company. As to my resorting to the courts of the Emperor or the Nabob, no mandate or process from any such courts could

be

be inforced against the Company; and were these reasons to prevail, every avenue to justice would be blocked up, and I should enjoy the satisfaction in my own mind, of having a right to what I now demand, without any remedy to obtain it.

I shall end this memorial with some observations on the Company's affairs, at the time the loss of their possessions in Bengal happened, and the regaining those possessions, with all their present great advantages.

When the news of the misfortunes in Bengal first reached Madrass, the whole town was flung into a consternation, equal to that of the Court of Directors, when the first advices of it were brought to England. I leave it to Mr. Payne, who was then at the head of the Direction, to describe what he and others suffered from their apprehensions for the Company. Indeed it is the general opinion, that nothing but the sudden advice of the recovery of that valuable settlement, which followed so close upon the news of its loss, could have prevented the Company's sinking under such a misfortune.

It

It was the unanimous opinion of the Governor and Council of Madras, that the Company could not exist without their possessions in Bengal. The coast of Coromandel was a burthen to them; instead of defraying the Company's expences, out of the profits of its trade, it had incurred a debt of near half a million. Bombay and the West Coast (free from all disturbances) scarce paid their expences; so that there remained only a few ships to China, for the Company's support. These considerations, and a thorough persuasion that the Company must fall, if Bengal was not recovered, induced the Governor and Council of Madras, to send such a force as might answer that purpose. I was the person fixed upon to execute their designs; and as the force sent was more than could be spared, consistent with the safety of the Company's possessions on the coast of Coromandel, at that critical time (being just at the eve of a war with France) they invested me with a power, independant of the Governor and Council of Fort William, that when the Company were re-instated in their possessions, they might be able to recall

ſuch part of the forces under my command, as might be thought conſiſtent with the Company's intereſt, in other parts of India.

As ſoon as the ſufferers of Bengal were reſtored to their habitations, by the re-taking of Calcutta, and to peace, by the defeating of Surajah Dowla, they called upon me to give up that independant power, which the Governor and Council of Madraſs had thought neceſſary to intruſt me with, which demand I could not comply with, without being guilty of a breach of truſt.

This circumſtance laid me under many difficulties, both with the gentlemen of Bengal and Madraſs. The Governor and Council of the latter had ſent me poſitive orders to return with a part of the forces under my command, after the capture of Chamagore, and not knowing the cauſe, could not account for my diſobedience: the many dreadful conſequences to which I expoſed myſelf, in caſe of a miſcarriage, did not eſcape my reflection. I was under theſe difficulties, when we began our march to dethrone Surajah Dowla.

Mr.

Mr. Watts had settled every thing with Meer Jaffier, and the other great officers of state, who had all engaged in the most solemn manner, to declare themselves, and join us with a large force, before we came to action. We marched within twenty miles of the Soubah's army, and then halted, to receive intelligence of the motions and intentions of our friends; when to our great surprize, Meer Jaffier gave us no hopes of his being able to join us, but expressed great apprehensions of his and our letters being intercepted, and himself being put to death. I wrote repeatedly to him, to insist upon his performing his engagements, and to join us, if it was only with 500 men. This had no effect; I then called a council of war, and put the question, Whether with our own forces alone, and without the prospect of assistance from Meer Jaffier, we should march, and give the Nabob battle, and it passed in the negative. After this, I received a letter from Meer Jaffier, that the Nabob suspecting his designs, had made him swear on the Koran, that he would not fight against him, and that he could not give us his assistance.

ance. Let the Proprietors paint to themselves what I must have suffered, under such a complication of distressed circumstances; and let the Directors remember, that under all these disadvantages, I took upon me to march, and the English arms alone gained the battle of Plassey. It is true, the Directors, in their first flow of gratitude, conferred upon me an honour, I believe, never paid to any other before, or since, by addressing a letter of thanks to me alone, signed by the whole court; and that I might be convinced of the sincerity of their sentiments, they sent no less than six or eight of them, which I have in my possession. But as length of time, and circumstances, seem to have produced another way of thinking in these gentlemen, I hope the Proprietors will excuse me, if I assert, for the last time, that by the great acquisitions of wealth obtained by this event, and by the large sums of money paid into their cash, for bills, the Company were enabled to supply every exigence, and answer the demands of every settlement in India, during the whole course of the war. To Madrass alone, was

sent

sent upwards of 300,000 l. which must inevitably have fallen, without such assistance; and with that place, all India. The Company who used to send to India several hundred thousand pounds a year, in bullion, were relieved from that difficulty; which, at such a juncture, they never could have surmounted; and from February, 1758, the time they received the advice of our success, to this day, they have sent very little to the coast, and still less to Bengal; so that this alone has been a saving to the nation of some millions sterling. The lands ceded to the Company by Cossim Cawn, and all the advantages gained by the deposition of Meer Jaffier, must appear as much a consequence of the battle of Plassey, as the advantages which were gained immediately after that victory: the whole amounting to 700,000 l. a year, may, at 10 years purchase, be valued at 7 millions sterling; the restitution made to the sufferers of Calcutta, and what was given by Meer Jaffier to the navy, army, and others, may be reckoned at 2,000,000 l. fortunes acquired since, at a moderate computation, 1,500,000 l. the Company themselves likewise received

received from Surajah Dowla and Meer Jaffier, 1,500,000 l. upon the whole, a clear gain to the nation of twelve millions sterling.

I shall conclude this subject with appealing to the Court of Directors, for the truth of these facts, and call upon them to declare, whether they think without the battle of Plassey, and its consequences, the East-India Company would have been, at this time existing? As great numbers of the Proprietors may be unacquainted with these transactions, I hope they will excuse the necessity I have been under, of laying the whole before them, which I submit to their consideration, justice, and candour.

CLIVE.

APPENDIX.

(Meer Jaffier Cawn Behadr
A servant of the King
Allumgur the Invincible.)

(Rajah Dulubram Behadr
A servant of the King
Allumgur the Invincible.)

Treaty executed by Meer Jaffier, *(wrote in his own Hand.)*

I SWEAR by God, and the Prophet of God, to abide by the terms of this treaty whilst I have life.

Meer Mahmud Jaffier Cawn Behadr,
a Servant of the King Allumgur.

Treaty made with the Admiral and Colonel Clive Sabut Jung Behadr, *the other Counsellors Mr.* Drake *and Mr.* Watts.

1st. Whatever articles were agreed on in time of peace with the Nabob Surajah Dowla Munsur Ulmomaleck Shah Kulli Cawn Behadr Sebut Jung, I agree to and comply with.

2d. The enemies of the English are my enemies, whether they be Indians or Europeans.

3. All the effects and factories belonging to the French in the provinces of Bengal (the Paradise of nations) and Bahar and Orixa, shall remain in the possession of the English; nor will I ever allow them any more to settle in the three provinces.

4th. In consideration of the losses which the English Company have sustained by the capture and plunder of Calcutta by the Nabob and the charges occasioned by the maintenance of their forces, I will give them one crore of rupees.

5th. For the effects plundered from the English inhabitants of Calcutta, I agree to give fifty lacks of rupees.

6th. For the effects plundered from the Gentoos, Mussulmen, and others, subjects of Calcutta, twenty-five lacks of rupees shall be given.

7th. For the effects plundered from the Armenian inhabitants of Calcutta I will give the sum of seven lacks of rupees. The distribution of the sums allotted the natives, English inhabitants, Gentoos, and Mussulmen, shall be

left

left to the Admiral and Colonel Clive Sabut Jung Behadr, and the rest of the council, to be disposed of by them to whom they think proper.

8th. Within the Ditch which surrounds the borders of Calcutta are tracts of land, belonging to several Zemindars; besides this I will grant the English Company six hundred yards without the ditch.

9th. All the lands lying to the south of Calcutta, as far as Culpee, shall be under the Zemindary of the English Company; and all the officers of those parts shall be under their jurisdiction; the revenues to be paid by them (the Company) in the manner with other Zemindars.

10th. Whenever I demand the English assistance, I will be at the charge of the maintenance of their troops.

11th. I will not erect any new fortifications below Hughly, near the river Ganges.

12th. As soon as I am established in the government of the three provinces, the aforesaid sums shall be faithfully paid.

Dated 15th Ramsan, in the fourth year of the reign.

Translation of the Sunnod granted to Col. Clive.

1758.

HIS MAJESTY,

ON Saturday the 12th of Rebbeasame, in the fourth of the glorious and happy reign, and the 1171 year of the Hedgeree, in the Kessalla of the Glory of the Nobility, and Rank of Ameers, the Shrine of Grandeur and Dignity; instructed both in the ways of Devotion and Wealth, to whom the true Glory of Religion and Kingdoms is known; the Bearer of the Lance of Fortitude and Respect, the Embroiderer of the Carpet of Magnificence and Greatness, the Support of the Empire and its Dependencies, to whom it is intrusted to govern and aggrandize the Empire, and Conductor of Victory in the Battles fought for the Dominion of the World; the Distributer of Life in the Councils of State, to whom the most secret Recesses of the Mysteries of Government are discovered; the Master of the Arts of Penetration and Circumspection, the

Brightness of the Mirrour of Truth and Fidelity, the Light of the Torch of Sincerity and Integrity, who is admitted to, and contributes to, the Determinations of the Royal Councils; a Participator of the Secrets of the Penetralia of Friendship, who presides equally over the Sword and Pen; Moderator of the Affairs of the Earth, Chief of the Cawns of the most exalted rank, the Pillar of Ameers of the greatest Splendor; the Trust of the zealous Champions of the Faith, the Glory of Heroes in the Fields of War, and Administrators of the Affairs of the immoveable Empire; Counsellor of enlightened Wisdom and exalted Dignity, adorned with Friendship and Honours, endowed with Dignity and Discretion. Pillar of the Dominions of Soloman, the Distributor of Glory, Buxey of the Empire, Ameer of Ameers, Hero of the Empire, Tiger of the Country, Mahmud Ahmeed Cawn, the brave Tiger of War, the Commander in Chief of the Forces glorious by Victory; the Tiger of Hind, mighty in Battle.

And

And in the time of the Waga Magarree of the least of the domestics of the Court of Glory and Majesty Sookaab.

This was written, the command (above) was passed, that Colonel Clive, an European, be favoured with a Munsub of the rank of 6000 and 5000 horse, and the title of "Flower of "the Empire, Defender of the Country, the "Brave, firm in War." This was entered the 10th day of Rebbeasame, in the 4th year, according to the original Yaddast.

FORM of the SIGNING.

To the Glory of Nobility, and Rank of Ameers, the Shrine of Grandeur, Dignity instructed, &c. Be it entered in the Waka.

According to the account sent by the Visier of the Empire, Administrator of all affairs taken from the account under the Seal of Rampursaud Vakeel, of the Nazem of Bengal.

6000 Rank

5000 Horse

After the manner of the Waka, it is concluded.

Written on the Day above-mentioned of the same Moon, of the glorious happy Reign.

The Copy of this Sunnud was entered in the Books of Waka Pagarree, on the 14th of Rabbasams, in the Fourth Year of his Majesty's reign.

Sun, 1171. The Servant of Allumgeer, the Warlike King, whose Glory is equal to that of Jumshad, mighty in War, the Flower of the Country, Chief of the Forces, the Glory of Victory, the Tiger of Hind, Mahmud Ahmeed Cawn, the brave Tiger of War, Buxey of the Empire, Ameer of Ameers, the Tiger of the Country, Sun 4.

Entered in the Duan's Office, in the 25th of Rebbea Sanne, in the 4th Year of his Majesty's Reign.

Sun, 1167, the Slave of Alumgeer, the Warlike King, Sookaab, Sun the First.

The Copy of this Sunnud was sent to the Office of the Waka Nigarree, on the 14th of Rabbea Samme, in the 4th Year of his Majesty's Reign.

The Slave of Alumgeer, the Warlike King, the Flower of the Country, brave in War, the glory of Wealth, Zechaza Cawn, Behadre, 4 Sun, of Reign.

NUMBER III.

1758.

Translation of a Perwannah (or Order) from the Nabob Shujah Ulmulk Hossum o Dowla Meer Mahmud Jaffier Cawn Bahdr Mohabut Sung, *to the Honourable President and Council.*

BE it known to the noblest of merchants, the English Company, That whereas the Glory of the Nobility, Zubdut Ulmulk Nusseera Dowla Colonel Clive Subat Jung Behadr, has been honoured with a Munsub (or title) of the rank of 6000 and 5000 horse from the Imperial Court, and has exerted himself, in conjunction with me, with the most steady attachment, and in the most strenuous manner, in the protection of the imperial territories; in recompence thereof, the Pergana (or county) of Calcutta, &c. belonging to the Chucta (or jurisdiction of Hughley, &c. of the Sircar Sauntgaum, &c. (or treasury) dependant on the Calsa Sherecfa and Jagueer, amounting to two hundred and twenty-two thousand nine hundred and fifty-eight S^a. R^s. and something more,

more, conferred by the Dewannee Sunnud (or King's Lord Treasurer of the province) on the English Company, as their Zemindarrie, commencing from the month Poos, (or December) in the eleven hundred and sixty-fourth year of the Bengal style, from the half of the season Rabbee Sooscanneel, in the eleven hundred and sixty-fifth year of the Bengal style, is appointed the Jagueer of the glory of the nobility aforesaid. It behoves you to look upon the above-written person as the lawful Jagueerda (or Lord) of that place; and in the same manner as you formerly delivered in the due rents of the government, according to the Kissbundee, (or written agreement) into the treasury of the court, and the Jagueer taking a receipt under the seal of the Drogha (or Receiver-General) and Mushreef, and Treasurer; now in like manner you are regularly to deliver to the above-mentioned Jagueerdar the rents, according to the stated payments, and receive a receipt from the aforesaid person. Be punctual in the strict execution of this writing.

Written

Written the first of Zeckaida 6th sun (or year) of the reign.

It is passed. (The Nabob's mark.)

N. B. Endorsements.

(The Royran's signing.)

D H

Copied in the books of entered in the books of the Huzzoor, the Dewanbee, the 1st of the 1st of the Mohurrum, the 6th sun (or year) of the reign, the Mohurrum, the 6th of the reign.

N. B.

Signed by the Dewannee
Peshker, or Accomptant
Secretary.

N. B.

Signed by the Nabob Nloon.

Explanation of the Terms used in Colonel Clive's *Perwannah for his Jagueer.*

Perwannah, A warrant, or a letter from any person in a superior station to a dependant.

Munsul, A dignity.

Calsa Shereef, The office in which all the King's accounts are passed.

Jagueer, Lands assigned by the King for the main-

maintenance of a Munsubdar, or contradistinction to the Calix. It signifies the revenues appropriated to the use of the Subahdre and his family.

Dewannee, The Dewan is the King's agent for the collection of his revenues.

Rebbee. The year in all public registers is divided into two seasons, the one called Kheries, which comprehends the months of Assin, Cartie, Aghun, Poos, Maug, Phagum; the other Cheif, Bysaac, Int, Assar, Sawun, Bhadun. The latter half of the season Relba commences 1st of the month Assar, or the 12th of June, from which time the Jagueer takes place.

Hissbundee, A contract from the acquittance of a debt by stated payments.

Huzzoor, Literally the presence, applied by way of eminence to the Nabob's court.

Hoskaneel, I have not had time to inform myself of the exact meaning of this word, but believe it to be the name of the present year, the registers of this empire accounting a perpetual revolution of twelve years, each of which is differently named.

To

A LETTER to ROBERT CLIVE, Esq;

SIR,

OUR most serious attention has been devoted to the commands of our Honourable Employers *per* Hardwick, naming a rotation of Governors for the future management of their affairs at this settlement; and having duly weighed the nature of this regulation, with all its attending consequences, a sincere conviction of its being, in our present situation and circumstances, repugnant to the true interest of our Honourable Masters, and the welfare of the settlement in general, obliges us, (though with the utmost respect and deference) to believe, that had our employers been apprized of the present state of their affairs in this kingdom, they would have placed the presidentship in some one person, as the clearest and easiest method of conducting their concerns, as well as preserving and maintaining the weight and influence the late happy revolution has given us with the Soubah of these provinces; on which influence, at the present period, the interest and welfare of the Company depends

depends in the highest degree at this settlement. The difficulties we may be liable to by a rotation in the executive part of government, with its consequences, are sufficiently obvious in our present state of affairs; we will however mention only a few points. The treaty with the Nabob not perfected in all its branches; the possessions of the lands incomplete; the settlement in no posture of defence; the French considerably reinforced with military and a fleet; their designs with respect to Bengal hitherto unknown; and the impossibility of impressing a proper idea of this divided power in the minds of the Soubah and others of this kingdom, who have at all times been accustomed to the government of a single person. A little reflection will introduce many more, and clearly evince the necessity of this address.

The gentlemen nominated Governors, in the Honourable Company's commands per Hardwick, have the highest sense of gratitude for the honour conferred on them by our Employers in their appointment, but deem themselves in duty bound, at this juncture of affairs, to wave all personal honours and advan-

tages;

tages; and declare, as their sentiment, That a rotation in the executive part of government, for the foregoing reasons, would be extremely prejudicial to the real interest of the Company; in which opinion we unanimously concur, and judge it for the welfare of our Honourable Employers, and of the settlement in general, to deviate in this instance from the commands of our Honourable Masters, and fix the Presidentship in a single person, till we hear further from Europe.

Your being named as head of the General Committee, (in the letter of the 3d of August last) established at that time for conducting the Company's affairs in Bengal, your eminent services, abilities, and merit, together with your superior weight and influence with the present Soubah and his officers, are motives which have great force with us on this occasion, and all concur in pointing out you as the person best able to render our Hon. Employers necessary service at this juncture, till they shall make their further pleasure known, by the appointment of a President for their affairs here.

These

These reasons urge us to make you an offer of being President of the Company's affairs in Bengal, till a person is appointed by the Honourable Company; and we flatter ourselves you will be induced to accept of our offer, from your wonted regard to the interest of our Honourable Employers, and zeal for the welfare of their affairs, which, we doubt not, you are, as well as ourselves, convinced will be much prejudiced by a rotation in the executive part of government.

We wait your reply, and have the honour to be,

SIR,

Your most obed. and most humb. Servants,

Wm. Watts.

Fort William, C. Manningham.

26th *June,* 1758. Rich. Beecher.

M. Collett.

W. Mackett.

Tho. Boddam.

Minutes

Minutes out of the Court Books of the East-India Company.

AT a Court of Directors held, on Wednesday, February 6, 1754, Minutes of the Committee of Correspondence, dated the 5th instant, being read, it was unanimously

Resolved, That a sword set with diamonds, to the value of 500l. be presented by the Court to Capt. Robert Clive, as a token of their esteem for him, and sense of his singular Services to the Company upon the coast of Coromandel.

At a general Court held on Wednesday, December 21, 1757, on a motion, and the question being put, it was

Resolved, That the Thanks of this General Court be given to Lieutenant Colonel Robert Clive, for his eminent and signal services to this Company.

At a General Court held on Wednesday, Sept. 24, 1760, the Chairman from the Court of Directors informed this Court, that such impor-

important services had been rendered to the Company in the East-Indies by Vice-Admiral Pocock, and the Colonels Clive and Lawrence, as appeared from the accounts formerly laid before this Court, and lately received, so demand some farther marks of the Court's sense thereof than had been already expressed; and moving the Court thereupon, it was on the question

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this Court be given to Vice-Admiral Pocock, Colonel Robert Clive, and Colonel Stringer Lawrence, for their many eminent and signal services to this Company.

And another motion being made,

Ordered, That the Chairman, and Deputy-Chairman, wait upon those Gentlemen, and acquaint them with this mark of this Courts great regard for their services.

And another being made, it was on the question

Resolved unanimously, That the Chairman and Deputy, when they wait upon Vice-Admiral Pocock, Colonel Clive, and Colonel Lawrence,

will desire those Gentlemen to give their consent that their Portraits, or Statues, be taken, in order to be placed in some conspicuous parts of this House; that their eminent and signal services to this Company, may be ever had in remembrance.

NUM-

NUMBER I.

Copy of the Company's Letter to Colonel CLIVE, *dated* March 8, 1758.

SIR,

OUR sentiments of gratitude for the many great sevices you have rendered to this company, together with the thanks of the General Court, have been hitherto conveyed thro' the channel of our general letters, but the late extraordinary and unexpected revolution in Bengal, in which you had so great a share of action, both in the *Cabinet and the Field*, merits our more particular regard; and we do accordingly embrace this opportunity of returning you our most sincere and hearty thanks for the zeal, good conduct, and intrepidity, which you have so eminently exerted on this glorious occasion, as well as for *the great and solid advantages* resulting therefrom to the East-India Company.

We earnestly wish your health may permit your continuance in India for such further term as will give you an opportunity of securing the foundation you have laid, as likewise to give your assistance in putting the company's

Mercantile and Civil Affairs on a proper and advantageous footing, upon the plans now transſmitted.

For this purpoſe, as well as in conſideration of your eminent ſervices, we have appointed you, *Governor and Preſident of Fort William in Bengal*, and its dependencies, in the manner mentioned in the General Letter by this conveyance; to which we have annexed an additional allowance of One Thouſand Pounds a year, as a teſtimony of our great regard for you. We are,

Your loving Friends,

LONDON, March 8, 1758.

John Dorrien,	John Payne,
G. Steevens,	Lau. Sulivan,
Charles Chambers,	J. Raymond,
John Browne,	Chriſ. Burrow,
M. Weſtern,	M. Impey,
Hen. Hadley,	John Manſhip,
Timothy Tullie,	Thos. Phipps,
Chas. Gough,	John Raymond,
Thos. Saunders,	Rob. Jones.

To the Hon. Robert Clive, *Eſq*;

NUMB.

NUMBER II.

Company's General Letter to Bengal, *dated* March 8, 17[redacted].

Paragraph the 23d. IN our Letter of the 3d inſtant, we lamented the ſituation of the many unhappy people who had loſt their property on the capture of Fort William, and had no relief from the treaty concluded with the late Nabob; in compaſſion to their ſufferings we recommended your applying to him on their behalf for relief, if you had the leaſt probability of ſucceeding. It is with great pleaſure, we find, that the late happy revolution and your care, have produced what we had very little reaſon to expect from the late Nabob. A grant from the preſent Nabob of ſuch large ſums to make good the loſſes of the ſeveral inhabitants, as we are ſatisfied are much more than ſufficient to indemnify them, even with intereſt thereon. Altho' the Nabob gives the company a crore of rupees, yet when the immenſe expence of maintaining the ſettlement at Fulta, the military charges of our troops from Fort St. George and Bombay, and the

the hazard thoſe Preſidencies have been expoſed to by drawing them off from thence, the charges of fortifications and rebuildings, replacing ſto[illegible]creaſe of our garriſon, the loſs of a ſeaſon's inveſtments, if not more, and many other obvious particulars are taken into the account, it will appear that the Company will ſtill be conſiderable ſufferers: It is highly reaſonable therefore, if the ſeveral inhabitants are paid out of the money ſtipulated in the treaty with the Nabob for that purpoſe, the full amount of their reſpective loſſes, together with intereſt thereon, that all the ſurplus ſhould be applied to the Company's Uſe. We ſhall expect to hear you have acted in this manner, and that ſuch ſurplus has been accordingly depoſited in our caſh; and we direct that you obſerve this as a rule for your conduct, in the diſtribution of any further ſums of money on this account. We do not intend by this to break in upon any ſums of money which have been given by the Nabob to particular perſons by way of free gift or gratuity for their ſervices, it is the ſurplus of the ſums we mean which are agreed to be paid by the Nabob in

the

the 5th, 6th, and 7th articles of the treaty with him. It is thought proper here to acquaint you, that ſuch ſurpluſſes, whatever they are, we propoſe to expend in ſuch manner, as will tend to the general utility and ſecurity of the ſettlement, they are therefore to be reſerved for our farther orders: And you are hereby directed to tranſmit us, for our information, exact accounts of every perſons loſs, whether Engliſh or other inhabitants, on the late capture of Fort William, and what has been paid to each of them in particular, by way of indemnification for the ſame, out of the moneys granted by the Nabob for that purpoſe.

Tranſlation

Translation of a Treaty between the Nabob Meer Mahmud Cossin Cawn *and the Company.*

(Company's Seal.) (Meer Mahmud Cossin Cawn Bahader.)

TWO treaties have been written of the same tenor, and reciprocally exchanged, containing the articles undermentioned, between Meer Mahmud Cossin Cawn Bahader, and the Nabob Sheemso dowla Bahader, Governor, and the rest of the Council for the Affairs of the English Company, and during the life of Meer Mahamud Cossin Cawn Bahader, and the duration of the factories of the English Company in this Country, this agreement shall remain in force. God is witness between us that the following articles shall in no wise be infringed by either party.

Article I. The Nabob, Meer Mahmud Jaffier Cawn Bahader, shall continue in possession of his dignities, and all affairs be transacted in his name, and a suitable income be allowed for his expences.

Art. II. The Neabut of the Subadarne of Bengall, Azemabad, and Cerissa, *&c.* shall be conferred by his Excellency (the Nabob) on

on Meer Mahmud Coffin Cawn Bahader; he shall be vested with the administration of all affairs of the provinces, and, after his Excellency, he shall proceed to the Government.

Art. III. Betwixt us, and Meer Mahamud Coffin Cawn Bahader, a firm friendship and union is established; his enemies are our enemies, and his friends are our friends.

Art. IV. The Europeans and Talingas of the English army, shall be ready to assist the Nabob Meer Mahamud Coffin Cawn Bahader, in the management of all affairs; and, in all affairs dependant on him, they shall exert themselves to the utmost of their abilities.

Art. V. In all charges of the Company, and of the said army and provinces for the filled, &c. the lands of Burdwan and Minapoor, and Chittagaum shall be assigned, and sunnuds for that purpose shall be written and granted: the Company is to stand to all losses, and receive all the profits of these three countries; and we will demand no more than the three assignments aforesaid.

Art. VI. One half of the chunams produced at Silet for three years, shall be pur-

chased by the Gomastah of the Company from the people of the Government, at the customary rate of that place. The tenants and inhabitants of those districts shall receive no injury.

Art. VII. The ballance of the former tuneaw shall be paid according to the kistbundee agreed upon with the Royroyans; the jewels which have been pledged shall be received back again.

Art. VIII. We will not allow the tenants of the Sircan to settle in the lands of the English Company; neither shall the tenants of the Company be allowed to settle in the lands of the Sircan.

Art. IX. We will give no protection to the dependants of the Sircan in the lands, or in the factories of the Company; neither shall any protection be given to the dependants of the Company in the Lands of the Sircan; and whosoever shall fly to either party for refuge shall be given up.

Art. X. The measures for the war or peace with the Shah Zada, and raising supplies of money, and concluding both these points, shall

be